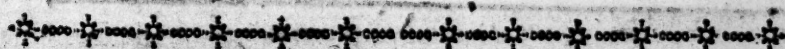


AN
ESSAY
TOWARDS A
CATALOGUE OF PATRIOTS,
REAL AND PRETENDED.



[Price 1s. 6d.]

E R R A T A.

Page v, line 19, for *unervated*, read *unenergated*; page vi, line 2, for *ar*, read *are*; page xix, line 5, for *Thompson*, read *Thomson*; page 1, line 8, for *unadvised*, read *unversed*; page 5, line 28, for *inconsiderable*, read *inconsiderate*; page 12, line 3, instead of the *semicolon* place a *comma*; page 27, line 13, for *instances*, read *particulars*.

B

A N
E S S A Y

T O W A R D S A

CATALOGUE OF PATRIOTS,
REAL AND PRETENDED.

Hail those old Patriots, on whose Tongue
Persuasion in the Senate hung,
Whilst they the sacred Cause maintain'd!

CHURCHILL.

Here let those reign, whom *Pensions* can incite
To make a Patriot black, a Courtier white;
Explain their Country's dear bought rights away
And

JOHNSON.

L O N D O N :

Printed for W. GRIFFIN, at GARRICK's Head,
in Catharine-Street, Strand.

M, DCC, LXIX.

E S S A Y

TOWARDS A

CATALOGUE OF PATRIOTS
REAL AND PRETENDED

Millions of Patriots, on whom a large
Portion of the nation hang,
Will they the sacred Cause maintain?
Cautious

Here let those rise, whose names can justify
To make a Patriot's mark, a Country's pride;
Explain that Country's best born rights away

And

L O N D O N

Printed for W. Gifford, at Garrick's Head,
in Catherine Street, Strand.

M. DCC. LXXV.

THE
DEDICATION.

TO
JOHN WILKES, Esq.

SIR,

AT a time when every low art is employed to cast the shade of ignominy on your illustrious character, and, under the false pretence of declaring our attachment to our beloved Sovereign, to give a sanction to the partial oppressive measures of administration; an Englishman, *unsolicited* and unknown, presumes to *address* you, as the generous disinterested defender of the Liberties of your Country.

There will ever be the subtle penetrating knave, to whom the well-meaning virtuous man, endued with inferior intellects, will attach himself with a blind undeviating confidence: There will never be wanting men, blest in other respects with a superior share of sense, who hold in awful veneration, the slavish tenets of their ancestors, or the early prejudices of an injudicious education: There are those, who having once avowed an opinion, from a slight persuasion of its truth, conceive themselves obliged, as an act of obeisance to their own importance, to maintain it against every effort of conviction: There will ever be the selfish Man, plunged in the cares of his own immediate emolument, uninspired by one generous motive; unanxious for posterity; unaffected in the least degree for the future welfare of his country: The hireling writer, the venal dependant, the hungry stock-jobber, the passive justice, the time-serving lawyer, the devoted candidate, the implicit S-----r,
the

(v)

the needy P-----r, the whole mass of ministerial usefulness, will ever be at hand, to promote the hardiest purposes of ministerial corruption. Whilst these things are so, can you wonder, Sir, that you meet with such various opposition in your native country, consecrated by Heaven to superior blessings, yet less sensible than other nations of their nameless worth ?

Englishmen, however, are not wanting, who hold your patriot endeavours dear to themselves, dear to their children, dear to unborn generations. These will dwell with unceasing plaudits, on that intrepid spirit which has so gloriously exalted you in oppression, on the singular greatness of your aims, and your inflexible perseverance, unsubdued by the dark frowns of persecution, unervated by one idea of the caresses of a court. This, Sir, is your noblest praise: this, the most solid answer to the bitterest invectives. Ministers, it
is

is well known; have no innate rancour, but what they are possessed *with* in common with meaner mortals. In fact, no people upon earth are better disposed to the forgiveness of injuries, when by the bewitching influence of a *douceur*, they can attach the offender to their interest. But their vengeance, should he obstinately spurn the generous tender, is indeed peculiar; it is ---unremitted reproach; it is endless persecution.

We all know a Nobleman, whose character has been strongly marked by a kind of immutable felicity, undisturbed by the frequent vicissitudes of administration: If some sanguinary speckles in his character do not shine with the innocence of the Dove, he is distinguished, however, by the wisdom of the Serpent: He has ever basked in the sunshine of court favour. This circumstance, indeed, has given occasion to suspect, if not a total want of
prin-

principle, an extreme of suppleness in his disposition. If the conclusion be just, it will the better enable us to ascertain the dignity of your motives, Sir, who, thro' all the revolutions of a court, have lingered in the winter of persecution, unenlivened by one fostering beam.

In the following Essay towards a Catalogue, we meet with patriots like *you*, animated by the noblest views, and suffering the full extent of ministerial revenge. But your sufferings are more cruelly eminent than theirs. They languished, it is true, under the feverities of the Star-Chamber; under the weight of the slavish principles avowed by the Stuarts: You, Sir, have in vain appealed to Magna Charta, to every sacred privilege of an Englishman, under the reign of an amiable Monarch, whose family have ever been adored, as the guardians of all that is dear to mankind---their civil and religious Liberties.

Your unexampled grievances, however, have not made you unmindful of the duties of a good subject. In this respect, you are superior even to the greatest names of Sidney and of Russell. These distinguished worthies, in some measure sullied the lustre of their characters, by engaging in designs against their Sovereign, which, perhaps, no partial violation of the constitution can be allowed to justify. Your Loyalty, Sir; your obedience to the Laws of your country have ever been unimpeached. Committed to the Tower by an illegal warrant, your papers rifled, your most secret concerns divulged; you appealed only to the justice of those laws, which in your person, had been so grossly violated. Banished by an outlawry, as cruel as it was illegal, you associated not with the enemies of your country, or with the scattered partizans of the Stuart family. When you returned, at last, to demand the inherent rights of an Englishman, you took every
step

step that prudence could dictate, to appease the rage of an irritated mob; and yet, your enemies, with a malice equally weak and wicked, have represented you and your patriot supporters, as the sole authors of every popular commotion.

When you were rescued from the Officers of Justice, who were conveying you to prison, you saved them from the fury of the populace, and actually surrendered yourself to that prison, to which those Officers could not convey you. In a word, you have proved yourself as much superior to the malice of your enemies, as they have found you superior to corruption. And you are at this time possessed of what is infinitely preferable to the transient honors of a day: You have the thanks of a brave and generous Nation; and (to speak

(x)

in your own animated language) your
Name " will be dear and venerable to all
future ages."

I am,

S I R,

With the most

respectful regard,

Your obedient

Humble Servant,

THE

INTRODUCTION.

CELEBRATED maxims are often vulgar errors, founded upon false conclusions: for a general appearance of truth may dart conviction into an inconsiderate mind, without leaving one durable impression; just as some luminous bodies dazzle with excess of splendor, yet not enliven with the least degree of warmth. To reason justly, we should review the various consequences of an inference, and mark it's exact analogy, not to the prejudice of our passions, or to the interest of our connexions, but to some established indubitable principle; and it is of the last importance, that we consider the argument itself abstracted from every consideration of the rank and dignity of the person who may enforce it, the extent of his abilities, and the greatness of his character;

else, what is barely plausible in itself, may pass for simple unadulterated truth. Few ministers have been more celebrated than Sir Robert Walpole. It was his maxim that "every man had his price:" a maxim, nevertheless, big with the most pernicious consequences, and absolutely contrary to truth. A man of principle will be ever unwilling to allow it; the profligate and abandoned wretch, who scruples not to offer up his country at the shrine of interest, can scarce have a single idea of its fallacy: yet it previously supposes every man to be either a knave or a fool: a fool will seldom do more than skim the surface of an argument; and a knave, like a person in a jaundice, will imagine all mankind to be of his own complexion. If the position, indeed, were credible at all, Sir Robert Walpole had as much reason to believe it as any of its warmest advocates. A perpetual, and indeed almost indiscriminate opposition to all his measures, whether good or bad, had perhaps necessitated him to employ those arts of corruption, which have since disgraced our parliamentary annals, the last and present virtuous years excepted. A patriotic minister, perhaps, would not have been driven to such a necessity. In the depth of his genius he would have found the

the

the art of governing a great nation, without corrupting it; and would at any rate have distinguished between the factious opposition of a party, and the noble disinterested efforts of real patriotism. In short, with a grandeur of sentiment, becoming the great statesman, he would have considered himself as governing, not merely the present, but the future nation. Sir Robert Walpole, in this light, was a shallow politician. His "schemes," as a fine writer has observed, "seldom extended beyond the exigencies of the year." Opposition was to be crushed at all events, and the means were immaterial. One wretched system of ministerial cunning was invariably pursued. Coronets, ribbands, pensions, places, sine cures, and a long list of et cetera's, were successively played off, as this subtle penetrator into human nature discovered the various foibles of his various opponents. He had the felicity for many years, or rather the infamy, of being successful. With what a fatal infatuation did the most exalted personages steep their senses and their virtue in this minister's fascinating cup. Intoxicated by the luscious draughts of court favour, they danced for a little while in the circle of an imaginary importance, till the great master of the scene touched

touched the floor, and sunk them in the deep glooms of obscurity and contempt. But what does this prove? Not that patriotism is an imaginary virtue, not that "every man has his price," but that integrity may yield, by repeated temptations, to some selfish and ignoble passion. Still it will remain an indisputable position, that even in this profligate age, a man of uncorrupt integrity *may* exist; superior to the wretched motives of self-interest, and inspired by the noblest of virtues, an invincible attachment to the liberty of his country. For should it even be proved, that out of an hundred pretenders to patriotism, ninety-nine have sullied the illustrious name, still the honor of the single patriot will remain unimpeached; and will be an everlasting proof, that the celebrated maxim of our celebrated minister is absolutely a vulgar error. On this account the writer of these remarks has selected a few of the most distinguished real and pretended patriots of the reign of Charles I. Actions are the best characteristicks of patriotism, so far as the motive can be supposed to be obvious to an impartial person; and the reader who is at all versed in the history of England, will be able to correct any material error in the portraits. This attempt was undertaken

dertaken at first, solely as an amusement to the writer, and an innocent relaxation from business. His total want of leisure has necessitated him to finish it upon a confined plan. In every respect, therefore, it is incomplete; and can only be considered as a hint to some writer of adequate abilities, to begin a complete investigation of a subject, which is, perhaps, of the utmost moment to this country.

The delineation of those great Characters, who have heretofore figured as the guardians or betrayers of their country, was never more necessary than at this critical conjuncture. If the merits of the one, or the faults of the other, have been in the least degree exaggerated by their Contemporaries, the distance of a century will probably diminish them. If it appear to a candid and impartial Reader, that the great points which agitated the nation in that period, were of no real consequence to the subject: that arbitrary imprisonment; a dispensing power in the Sovereign; the severities of the council of York, the Star Chamber, and the High Commission Court; ought to have been yielded to with a passive submission; it will follow, to a demonstration, that the nation is at this time convulsed

vulsed by a spirit of *faction* and *sedition*. If, on the other hand, this assemblage of grievances were so many violations of Magna Charta, we are under infinite obligations to those magnanimous Englishmen, whose unconquerable spirit is still opposed to grievances not less contrary to the spirit of the Constitution; and not less fatal to the welfare of the subject. If the Man, by whose means the illegal issuing of general warrants has been abolished, be still persecuted with an ignoble perseverance; if the daring Secretary, who insulted the Liberties of the nation in that respect, be suffered to retire with impunity; if the Habeas Corpus act has been evaded, and the criminals screened from condign punishment; if any mode of trial, otherwise than by Juries, be introduced into our Courts of judicature; in fine, if any subject can now be imprisoned for refusing to submit to the inquisitorial method of proceeding by interrogatories: to what purpose was the Great Charter written with the point of the sword; to what purpose was the iniquitous court of Star-Chamber abolished; to what purpose did our great Forefathers harangue in the senate, or perish in the field? You nobly laboured for posterity, illustrious shades! and a grateful posterity applaud
your

your conduct. I speak not of foreigners, unacquainted with the principles of the Constitution; I speak not of the partizans of a corrupt administration who suck the very vitals of the State; I speak not of the advocates of arbitrary power; I speak not of open and avowed Papists: these, unworthy of the smiles of liberty, may call the sacred flame of freedom, a principle of licentiousness; they may resolve our virtuous efforts into *factious* and *sedition* proceedings. I speak of Englishmen, who know the value of these privileges, which you so honourably bequeathed, and who will endeavour, by every warrantable method, "piously to transmit them to their children."

The inconsiderate precipitance of the lower class of people, it must be confessed, has lately vented itself in riots of an alarming kind; and it is as much to be lamented. Every individual of the English nation is constitutionally involved, as it were, in the ideas of his own innate importance, and foreigners have remarked this spirit of independency to be one of our most striking characteristics. But a sensible Englishman, when he observes the various appearances of tumult and sedition, will seriously investigate

the real source of these obnoxious appearances. He will not believe that they proceed from a spirit of disaffection to the family on the throne; nor to a profligate disregard to all order and government, fomented by designing men, who would fain subvert the constitution. He will consider them as agitations in the body politic, proceeding from the noblest principle, a kind of sacred jealousy cohabitant with the spirit of liberty itself, and warranted by every noble and generous consideration. The people of England are naturally brave and loyal; and this sacred jealousy has seldom inspired them without the most reasonable grounds of apprehension. It has then glowed with its native fervor, and has more than once saved this nation from slavery and arbitrary power. Pensioners and Parasites, indeed, may refine on the obvious signification of words; but there will ever be an immutable difference between the loyalty and obedience due to the best of princes, our amiable Sovereign in particular, and that tameness of spirit, and abject submission to ministerial oppression, which are the most certain criterions of the profligacy of the age. Opposition itself is as unlike the spirit of licentiousness, as that is unlike the spirit of liberty. Opposition, in fact, when it
has

has not degenerated into a factious struggle for power and preferment, has in all ages been productive of the most lasting advantages; advantages no where more happily described than in the following lines from Mr. Thompson.

Thro' this * and thro' succeeding reigns affirm'd
 These long contested rights, the wholesome winds
 Of Opposition hence began to blow,
 And often since have lent the country life,
 Before their breath Corruption's infect blights,
 The dark'ning clouds of evil counsel fly;
 Or should they sounding swell, a putrid Court,
 A pestilential Ministry they purge,
 And ventilated States renew their bloom.

The late dangerous ferments ought to be treated by a wise administration, just as a skilful physician would attempt to cure an inflammation in the human body; not by perpetual irritation of the part affected, but by the tender application of lenitives. If the spirit of jealousy has been wantonly excited in the people, an impartial administration of justice is the only method to convince them that their suspicions are without foundation. If, on the other hand, all the efforts of unrelenting malice be exerted

to crush one devoted individual; if the murderer in cold blood has been screened from the legal vengeance of an unhappy father; if members of the State, dignified by exalted Titles, be permitted to arm a lawless banditti, to violate the freedom of elections; if the simple rioter who chalked the unmeaning figures 4 and 5 on the back of a magistrate, be punished with a singular severity; if the blood-thirsty villain, who consented to receive the wages of iniquity, and was legally convicted of **MURDER**, be rescued from the justice of his country, by a court of Inquisition unknown to the Laws of this Nation; what is the Conclusion?——It is obvious to every Englishman, unprejudiced and uncorrupt,

SIR EDWARD COKE.

A Celebrated female historian has presented us with the following character of this distinguished patriot. “ From a just sense of the services this great
 “ man rendered his country in the latter and more experienced period of his life, it were to be wished
 “ that all his failings had been buried in a total oblivion; but a strict regard to truth, that catholic
 “ virtue in a historian, renders it necessary to enter
 “ into some parts of his conduct, the defect of which
 “ is so glaring, that nothing but a long succession of
 “ patriotic exertions could have rescued his memory
 “ from that pit of infamy to which the base time-servers of those ages have so deservedly been condemned.
 “ Very early in life he was especially noticed by Burleigh for the admirable talents he displayed at the
 “ bar, and was consulted in the Queen’s affairs. Burleigh found so much solid judgment in him, that he
 “ promoted him before his own kinsman Bacon, whose learning he accounted somewhat superficial: Coke
 “ was made Queen’s Solicitor, and then her Attorney.
 “ In these capacities he was consulted by the ministers
 “ in all points of difficulty; and he too often gave a
 “ legal colouring to the most tyrannical of their practices. But the very exceptionable parts of his conduct
 “ were the prosecutions of Raleigh and Essex,
 “ who were to be wrangled out of their lives to satisfy
 “ the

“ the infamous ends and caprices of a Court. In these
“ businesſes he ſtuck not to take the moſt unjuſt and
“ illegal methods to compaſs the condemnation of the
“ two ſufferers. But from the time he obtained a
“ more exalted ſtation in the law, after he was made
“ Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, in the year
“ 1606, he began to ſhew himſelf no friend to a
“ boundleſs prerogative; objecting in the points of
“ proclamations, prohibitions, and other ſuch mat-
“ ters.” Our fair hiſtorian, after mentioning his noble
and dignified behaviour on King James’s calling him to
account, for his aſſerting the rights of the courts of
common law, proceeds in the following eulogium.
“ When he began to find in the experience of the un-
“ juſt uſage he had received, the venom that lay in
“ prerogative; when he began to conſider the preten-
“ ſions of the Stewart family; that the conſequence of
“ ſuch claims, if allowed and eſtabliſhed in the conſti-
“ tution, would render the line of law of no effect;
“ that the very forms of it would be ſubverted to the
“ ends and purpoſes of regal tyranny; he from this
“ time exerted in the Commons-Houſe an unconquer-
“ able Zeal for correcting abuſes, for eſtabliſhing the
“ Authority of the Law, and confining the prerogative
“ to its proper bounds. From theſe moſt laudable
“ attempts he was not to be diverted, either by the
“ threats or cajolements of a court: for at the period
“ that he was much truſted and employed, after being
“ retaken into favour, he was ſo far from acting the
“ part that on theſe conſiderations was expected of
“ him, that in the parliament which met in the year

“ 1621, he towered beyond all preceding patriots in
 “ the abilities he shewed in guiding the councils of
 “ that assembly, in the strength and propriety of the
 “ arguments he urged for the authority and privileges
 “ of parliament, turning by this conduct the smiles of
 “ the court into a commitment to the Tower and a
 “ rifling of his papers. He, to his everlasting honor,
 “ was, in the succeeding reign, the man that proposed
 “ and framed the petition of Right. The Cares of
 “ the greatest part of his Life were not only for the
 “ age he lived in, but that posterity might feel the ad-
 “ vantages of his almost-unequalled labours. He was
 “ the first that reduced the knowledge of the English
 “ Laws into a system. His voluminous writings on
 “ this subject have given light to all succeeding Law-
 “ yers; and the improvements that have been made in
 “ this science owe their source to this great original;
 “ the services he rendered his country in this respect
 “ are invaluable. But while he laboured to his very
 “ last moments to render the law intelligible, and con-
 “ sequently serviceable to his fellow-citizens, he con-
 “ tinued to be oppressed in the most illegal manner by
 “ the Government. Secretary Windebank, by virtue
 “ of an Order from the Council, for seizing seditious
 “ papers, entered his House at the time he was dying,
 “ took away his Commentary upon Littleton, his His-
 “ tory of that Judge's Life, his Commentary upon
 “ Magna Charta, his Pleas of the Crown, and Juris-
 “ diction of the Courts, with fifty-one other manu-
 “ scripts, together with his Will and Testament. This
 “ last was never returned, to the great distraction of
 “ his

“his family affairs, and loss to his numerous posterity.”

Rapin has likewise mentioned the exceptionable part of this great man's character, and particularly, his very blameable behaviour on the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh. But to judge with accuracy of his merits, in that particular view, in which he is entitled to a place in this Catalogue, according to the noblest and most enlarged ideas of patriotism; we ought not to examine his character by the same principles by which we would observe the degrees of light and shade in a beautiful but faulty portrait: we should rather form a critique as we would on two very different pictures drawn at two distant periods, in which the air, the manner, the whole assemblage of features, present a striking and animated contrast. In this light we oppose the character of Sir Edward Coke as delineated in the last and noblest actions of his Life to the everlasting infamy of a Pulteney and a Pitt; Men, who having gained the glorious name of patriots, and acquired the most exalted of Honours—the confidence of their country, in one wretched moment of infatuation, preferred the gaudy splendor of a peerage to the sweets of conscious integrity, the applause of a grateful people, and a fame that would have bloomed for ever. Sir Edward Coke, on the contrary, bred up to the despotic ideas of Elizabeth, who inherited the imperious spirit of her father, devoted himself in the early and inconsiderable part of life, to the violent and illegal measures of the court. In this manner we ought to account for his unworthy treatment of Essex and Raleigh. To err is human: the worthiest of

of Men, those, who compared to the herd of mankind, were something more than human, have, in some particular instances of misconduct, evinced the frailty incident to human nature: Raleigh himself was in some measure instrumental to the death of Essex; prompted by envy, private pique, or some secret motive equally unworthy: Lord Russell, generous, virtuous, and humane, was yet unmanly enough to question the power of Charles the Second to remit the barbarous part of the unfortunate Stafford's sentence—the hanging and quartering: yet the name of Russell will be endeared to posterity, while there is aught that is praise-worthy in goodness and in virtue. Coke, indeed, was devoted to an arbitrary court; the flame of public virtue was smothered in his breast, but not extinguished. He soon saw the fatal consequences that might attend the unlimited pretensions of the first Stuart. He felt and acknowledged the awful sanctity of the Liberties of England. He recollected his native dignity; what he owed to himself, to his country, to posterity. His subsequent conduct was all that was great and good; uniform and manly. Proof alike to all the offers of power and preferment, and to the haughty mandates of a misguided Sovereign, his inflexible adherence to the glorious course he had begun, and his consequent sufferings for the cause of Liberty, deservedly enoble him as one of the worthiest and most uncorrupt patriots of his age and nation.

The

T H E

GRAND JURY of NORTHAMP-
TONSHIRE, in 1640.

IN that dangerous crisis, when the violent councils of a Wentworth and a Laud carried all before them; when our sacred franchises were trampled upon by the iron foot of power; these illustrious men had the spirit to present the levying of Ship-Money as illegal. Could their motive in such a situation of affairs, be otherwise than noble, generous, patriotic?

T H E

O H N
P Y M
T H E

LADY of Judge CROOK.

THIS Lady stands recorded as honor to her Sex. When the Lord Keeper Finch had exerted all his Arts of persuasion and compulsion to induce her Husband to give his voice in favour of the court, in a case the most important to the liberty of the subject—the trial concerning Ship-Money: when the weak man, apprehensive of the perils of vengeance, which has proved so effectual in these later times, had half consented to kiss the ministerial rod, his Lady, actuated by the most exalted sentiments, urged every motive of honor, to save him from the infamy of compliance. With all the sweetness of female persuasion she urged the obligations of conscience, and declared, that rather than be the means of his erring in a point so momentous to his happiness and fame, she would consent to languish all her days in distress, and to bury her brightest prospects in the ruins of her country. Who could resist the eloquence of such an advocate, endeared to him by the tenderest and most engaging ties? The Judge, at once confessed the solidity of her arguments and the greatness of her soul. He rose superior to his unworthy intentions, and not only gave his opinion against the King, but argued in the noblest manner in favour of the Subject.

JOHN

J O H N P Y M.

AN exalted character in public and private life; foremost in the opposition to the wild efforts of Charles the first. That Monarch would have made him Chancellor of the Exchequer, at the same time that he purchased the services of Wentworth, Littleton, Ney and the other apostate patriots of that reign; but he was given to understand that Pym, if he accepted a place, would by no means change his measures, till the grievances of the subject were redressed. Archdeacon Eachard, however, roundly asserts, that, on meeting with a prospect of preferment with his great friend the Earl of Bedford, and inclining a little towards the Court, he visibly lost his interest in the House: but Hume and Smollett, whom we cannot suspect of partiality to the popular Cause, are totally silent on this head. The former, when recording the death of this illustrious patriot, declares that “ he was considered as “ a Victim to national liberty, who had abridged his “ Life by incessant labours for the interest of his Coun- “ try;” and he mentions an instance of his integrity, which is a proof, as happily conclusive as it is singular, of his warm, genuine, disinterested patriotism. “ He “ was so little studious (says this historian) of improv- “ ing his private fortune in the civil wars, of which “ he had been the chief Instrument, that the parlia- “ ment thought themselves obliged out of gratitude to “ pay the Debts which he had contracted.”

JOHN HAMBDEN.

ATTEMPTS have been made to shade the character of this heroic man by dark suspicions that, with all the warmth of his patriotism, he cherished the most designing ambitious thoughts. They are allowed, however, to be but mere suspicions; and conclusions drawn from mere suspicions ought never to be regarded. His memorable opposition to the illegal levying of Ship-Money *, and his glorious death in the

* Lord Clarendon, who is remarkable for the expressive redundancy of his characters, has presented us with the following masterly touches; which, will remind us, however, that the noble Historian's work is a professed apology for the misconduct of his unfortunate Master.

" He [Hambden] was rather of reputation in his own country, than of public discourse, or fame in the Kingdom, before the business of Ship-Money: but *then he grew the argument of all tongues*, every Man enquiring who, and what He was, that durst, at his own charge, support the Liberty and property of the Kingdom, and rescue his country, *as he thought*, from being made a prey to the court. His carriage, throughout this agitation, was with that rare temper and modesty, that they who watched him narrowly to find some advantage against his person, *to make him less resolute in his cause*, were compelled to give him a just testimony. And the Judgment that was given against him, infinitely more advanced him *than the service for which it was given*.

Page 266. " He was indeed a very wise man, and of great parts, and possessed with the most absolute spirit of popularity, and the most absolute faculties to govern the people, of any man I ever knew.

" After he was among those Members accused by the King of High Treason, he was much altered, his nature and carriage *seeming much fiercer than it did before*.

field

JOHN HAMBDEN. 11

field of battle, are too well known to be mentioned here. The sanctity of his memory, even at this distance of time, is, in fact, his noblest Eulogium.

"He was of an industry and vigilance not to be tired out, or wearied by the most laborious; and of parts not to be imposed upon, by the most subtle, or sharp; and of a personal courage equal to his best parts; so that he was an enemy not to be wished wherever he might have been made a friend; and as much to be apprehended where he was so, as any man could deserve to be. And therefore his death was no less pleasing to the one party, than it was consoled in the other. In a word, what was said of Cinnar might be well applied to him: 'He had a sword to converse, and a tongue to persuade, and a hand to execute any mischief.' His death therefore seemed to be a great deliverance to the Nation."

C² OLIVER

OLIVER ST. JOHN.

A MAN of a singular character. He eminently distinguished himself by his pleadings in favor of the Gentlemen imprisoned, in 1626, for refusing to countenance an illegal Loan; by his Arguments against the levying of Ship Money; and by his activity in bringing the Earl of Strafford to public Justice. Charles, at that time, was not ignorant of the present hackneyed Policy of crushing the violence of opposition, by purchasing the popular Leaders. With this View he actually created St. John Solicitor General, but without effect: this great Lawyer adhering to his principles with an inflexible constancy.

DEN-

DENZIL LORD HOLLES.

A PATRIOT of the first rank. He suffered severely for his strenuous opposition to the court, but his undaunted spirit was not to be vanquished by ministerial oppression. He carried up the Impeachment against Archbishop Laud; and was one of the five Members against whom the King directed his frantic Efforts, by an Accusation of High Treason. His whole conduct, even uniform, vouches him a man of principle and integrity. Mr. Horace Walpole, however, considers it as a defect in his character, that he sat on the Trials of the Regicides; who at most but chastised the faults his Lordship had pointed out. But surely there is an absolute and essential difference between pointing out the misgovernment of the supreme Magistrate, that the grievances of the subject might be redressed, and the chastising of the Sovereign unto Death. "Lord Holles (continues Mr. Walpole) acted zealously for the restoration, and while the Dawn of the King's reign was unclouded, accepted employments and embassies from the Crown, consistent with his Honour and Duty to his country. As soon as the catholic rudder was uncovered, he again reverted to patriot Opposition. When Sir William Temple's privy council was established, Lord Holles, though eighty-two, yet never thinking himself past serving his country, accepted a place in it; but died soon after."

N O Y

SIGNALIZED himself as a patriot of the first rank, by vindicating the privileges of parliament, and opposing the arbitrary measures of the court. Yet, lost to the sacred obligations of public virtue, he soon sunk his growing honors in the office of Attorney General. In that capacity, as a wretched and laborious drudge, he was by no means inferior to the most passive of our modern Lawyers; nor was he less despised. It has somewhere been observed, that Charles was not very profuse in rewarding even the most devoted of his creatures, and that the slavish office of Attorney General was all the recompence that Noy obtained, for the sacrifice of his Honor. The remark, perhaps is rather futile. Noy died before his Sovereign could have it in his power to evince the deep sense he doubtless had, of the usefulness of such a Servant. Had Charles been able to have crushed the factious Spirit of his Subjects; and had the Attorney General lived, what golden times might he have seen. He might perhaps have retired from the slavery of the Bar to the sweets of a pension; or have shone with the brightest Lustre, as LORD CHIEF JUSTICE IN EYRE.

GEORGE

(15)
GEORGE LORD DIGBY.

THE transcendent abilities of this Nobleman could not preserve him from the grossest inconsistencies. His defection from the popular party was as rash and precipitate, as the warmth with which he entered into their measures was inconsiderate. When it is recollected that, in every question that concerned the liberty of the subject, he had displayed all the fire and all the eloquence of the most animated patriot, and that he was actually one of the managers of the impeachment against the Earl of Strafford; his speech in the House of Commons on the Bill for triennial parliaments will not be wondered at: but when it is considered, that, after his Apostacy, he was the adviser of that fatal step, the accusation of Lord Kimbolton, and the five Members, this speech is one of the strongest satires against human nature. The following is an extract from it:—“ Let me appeal to all those who were
“ present in this House at the agitation of the petition
“ of Rights, of whose promotion to the management
“ of Affairs do they think the generality would, at that
“ time, have had better hopes than of Mr. Noy and
“ Sir Thomas Wentworth? In that business most
“ keen and active patriots; the latter of them (to the
“ eternal aggravation of his infamous treachery to the
“ Commonwealth be it spoken) the first mover and
“ insister

“insister to have this clause added to the petition of
“Right,” “*That for the comfort and safety of his*
“*subjects, his Majesty would be pleased to declare his*
“*Will and Pleasure, that all his ministers should serve*
“*him* ACCORDING TO THE LAWS AND STATUTES
“OF THE REALM.” And yet, Mr. Speaker, to
“whom now can all the Innundations on our Liberties
“and Properties, under pretence of Law, be attri-
“buted more than to Noy? And can those, and all
“other mischiefs whereby this Monarchy hath been
“brought almost to the brink of destruction, be attri-
“buted so much to any, as to that grand apostate to
“the Commonwealth, the now Lieutenant of Ire-
“land? The first, I hope, God hath forgiven in the
“other World; and the other must not hope to be
“pardoned in this, till he be dispatched to the other.”

THOMAS Earl of STRAFFORD.

THERE is scarce a character in history, in the painting of which historians have displayed a colouring to extremely opposite. The advocates of prerogative have ever affected to dignify this celebrated man with the exalted epithet of Great. His eminent talents are indeed acknowledged by all; but Mrs. Macaulay very sensibly distinguishes between the low tricks of "ministerial juggling, the abilities of a Scapin to cheat the credulous and unwary," and those superior qualities which constitute the great Statesman—an unremitting attention, a quickness of discernment, an invincible patience; a firmness and vigour, tempered with that happy flexibility, which can condescend to smile on the wishes of the people, and to govern by acts of benignity, tenderness and conciliation; wisely distinguishing between the unworthy stubbornness of resentment towards an individual, and that uniform grandeur and dignity of action, which can enforce the authority of the Laws, and uphold all the majesty of prerogative, on the genuine principles of the constitution: in a word, noble and enlarged ideas of the various interests of society, and a sacred inviolable devotion to the liberties of his Country. Strafford, in these essential requisites, was totally deficient. Proud, haughty, and over-
D
bearing;

bearing; tenacious of the idlest and most insipid forms of state; infatuated by a boundless and insatiable ambition; he marked his infamous apostacy, not simply by the introduction of arbitrary power, but of MILITARY RULE. Hume has taken infinite pains to palliate the conduct of this great criminal; but the many instances of his despotic tyranny which Rushworth has collected, are too forcible to be declaimed away by our ingenious philosopher. In a single Note * we perceive the finest flowers of his panegyric languish under the powerful rays of truth: for he slightly mentions the Earl's Letters, by which it appears, says he, "that Strafford "was secretly no enemy to arbitrary councils." He even recapitulates several of his public enormities — the decision of causes before the Council, which belonged solely to the Courts of Law; the issuing of proclamations, and punishing their infraction; the exalting of acts of state to an equality with Acts of Parliament; the assessing of soldiers on those hapless persons who had the hardiness to oppose his arbitrary proceedings; and his acting as President of the Council of York, a court which subsisted by a commission and instructions, totally inconsistent with the hereditary rights of the people, and the fundamental laws of the State. In the particular passage where he mentions his defection from the popular party, we are told, that "as "he now employed all his councils to support the "prerogative, which he had formerly bent all his "endeavours to diminish, his virtue seems not to "have been so entirely pure, but to have been suscep-

* Hume, vol. i. 4to Ed. Page 286.

"tible of strong impressions from private interest and
 "ambition;" and in the case of Lord Mountnorris,
 whom Strafford had unjustly caused to be condemned
 by MARTIAL LAW, for some innocent, or at the
 worst, ambiguous expressions, inadvertently dropped at
 the table of the Irish Lord Chancellor Loftus, our apo-
 logist confesses, after reciting every argument to ex-
 tenuate the guilt of his favorite statesman, that his
 mind "had not been a little debauched by the riot of
 "arbitrary power and uncontrolled authority." Could
 the periods of the most inveterate Republican be more
 forcibly conclusive? Yet our unguarded historian
 scruples not to affirm, that the Earl's defence was "in
 "the main, satisfactory." After this declaration we
 will allow him to add, that "his victory was still
 "more decisive, when he brought the whole together,
 "and repelled the charge of High Treason."

It is in the great question, whether Strafford was
 legally convicted of High Treason, that we discover a
 most sensible opposition between the tenderness with
 which Mr. Hume probes the conduct of his Hero, and
 the roughness with which it is perhaps treated by the
 learned female who has so nobly officiated as High
 Priestess to the Goddess of Liberty. Mr. Hume asserts,
 that "with regard to this guilt, an attempt to subvert
 "the fundamental Laws, the statute of Treasons is to-
 "tally silent; and arbitrarily to introduce it into the fa-
 "tal catalogue, is itself a subversion of all Law."* The
 sentiments of Mrs. Macaulay are wholly opposite, but
 her arguments are more rational and more consistent

* Hume, vol. i. 4to Ed. Page 275.

than Mr. Hume's. Without assenting to his assertion, and insisting on the contrary that Strafford was found guilty of Treason, by levying war against the subject, within the said Statute of Edward 3d, she proceeds to observe, (on the supposition that the evidence against the Earl was not what the strict letter of the law required, and that the crimes of which he had been guilty were not within the statute she had mentioned) that "in the best regulated governments, circumstances may arise of so particular and urgent a nature, as to render it necessary for the legislative power to exceed the strict letter of the law; that England could not at this time be called a settled government, since the King by his illegal administration, had introduced a state of confusion, which rendered acts of power necessary expedients to reinstate the people in their long lost privileges, and give to violated Laws their due authority;" and that "a precedent of so great a criminal being condemned by the whole power of the legislature, could not, in its consequences, be so dangerous to the public, or the liberty of individuals, as the example of crimes of so black a nature, and so destructive to the commonwealth, being committed with impunity."* Mr. Hume, on the other hand, affirms, that the sentence by which Lord Strafford fell "was an enormity greater than the worst of those which his implacable enemies prosecuted with so much cruel industry." He seems not to entertain a single idea of Mrs. Mac-

* Macaulay, Vol. 2d, 4th Ed. P. 449.

aulay's arguments; tho' it surely became him to recollect his own assertion in the preceding paragraph: viz. that if Strafford "had counselled or executed any violent measure, he might perhaps have been able to apologize for his conduct, from the great law of necessity, which admits not, while extreme, of any scruple, ceremony, or delay."* What! shall the great law of necessity authorize a servant of the Crown to commit illegal outrages on the subject, and shall it not justify the whole body of the Legislature, if they exceed the strict letter of the Law, in devoting a great criminal a sacrifice to violated Justice? No necessity indeed can invest any one branch of the legislature, of itself, independent of the other two, with even a momentary power to deprive the subject of aught of his glorious inheritance. Necessity is "the Villain's plea"; it was heretofore the plea of a weak Monarch deified by wicked Ministers; it was his plea, in a profound peace, for the illegal levying of Ship-Money; and a venal prostituted bench declared him the sole judge of the necessity he pleaded. God forbid, therefore, that the plea of necessity be hereafter urged, but by the whole legislative power. It cannot be easily ascertained, perhaps, in what cases, and to what extent, the spirit of the constitution will warrant even the legislature to set aside the inherent rights of an Englishman: but that they have exercised that power, the bills of attainder and for inflicting pains and penalties, passed since the glorious Revolution; with the suspension of

* Hume, Vol. 1st, 4to Ed. P. 286.

the Habeas Corpus act in times of open rebellion, are an indisputable proof.

'Tho' it is not necessary in this place to enter into the point of law, which was argued by Mr. Lane, in favour of the unfortunate Strafford; and by Mr. St. John, who had been deputed by the Commons to satisfy the Lords of the legality of their proceedings; as it cannot in the least affect the character of the Earl with respect to the criminality of his conduct; yet it is but just to take notice of the gross partiality of Lord Clarendon, who having prejudiced the reader by a very judicious state of Mr. Lane's pleadings, mentions no other of Mr. St. John's arguments, than two very exceptionable positions, into which his warmth betrayed him, and which indeed had no relation to the point in law *. The generous Lady, who has been so often quoted in this essay, seems superior to the meanness of concealment; she mentions every argument on each side; and even melts her readers into all the tenderness of compassion by the manliness of the Earl's own persuasive eloquence, and the melancholly woe of his own affecting language †.

* Clarendon, Vol. 1. 8vo. Ed. P. 225, 232.

† Macaulay, Vol. 2. Page 448.

EDWARD Earl of CLARENDON.

IN his history of the rebellion, records the parliamentary conduct of Mr. Hyde, with a solemn prolixity of diction, which erects its subject into consequence. If we are sometimes disgusted with the enormous length of his periods, the uncouth expressions of his age, and the vulgar familiarity of his phraseology, we have no reason, however, to complain of that most disagreeable of faults—Egotism. Mr. Hyde had distinguished himself in the fourth, and the early part of the fifth parliament of Charles the first, as one of the patriots of the time, and was the principal instrument of abolishing the council of York. But he was not long a co-adjutor with the popular members. He either did, or affected to, mistrust the integrity of their views. The patriot opposers of a tyrannic court no longer appeared in that exalted light: They were the insidious leaders of a factious populace: Their ardour for Liberty was an excess of virulence; the least irregularity in their proceedings an authentic proof of a long formed design to subvert the constitution. Such was the printing of the famous remonstrance of the Commons, which was indeed irregular, because it was without a precedent: but the opposition of Mr. Hyde to that extraordinary measure was no less vehement, and no less irregular; his
motion

motion to protest against it being absolutely unusual. From this moment, Mr. Hyde attached himself to the Royal Cause. Perhaps he acted a conscientious part: yet it may be difficult to applaud his conduct. If the Commons had something more in view than a mere redress of grievances; if their aims were to confine the prerogative within narrower bounds; they were not absolutely without an apology. They had every reason to dread the vengeance of a Monarch, whom necessity, not a sense of Justice, had compelled to every concession: Insincerity was the capital fault of Charles: it appeared by his gross violation of the Petition of Right, almost immediately after he had given his sanction to that excellent Law; it appeared by a long series of successive violations; and particularly, by the share he had in the conspiracy of the officers*. To this we may add Mr. Hume's apology: "If," says he, "the means by which they (the Commons) obtained such mighty advantages, favor often of artifice, sometimes of violence; it is to be considered, that revolutions of Government cannot be effected by the mere force of argument and reasoning: and that factions being once excited, men can neither so firmly regulate the tempers of others, nor their own, as to ensure themselves against all exorbitances†." Had Mr. Hyde argued in this candid manner, his premature secession might not have been one of the facts related by Lord Clarendon. If one party in the house were precipitated

* Hume, Vol. 1. Page 281. Rapin, Vol. 2. Page 369. Clarendon, Vol. 1. Page 247.

† Hume, Vol. 1, Page 288.

by an extreme of violence, it became Mr. Hyde; and the members whom moderation had not deserted, to endeavour by unremitted perseverance, to check the intemperance of debate; and by an unceasing attention to guard against any fatal innovation: for a patriot Senator should hang over the last vibration of the constitution, just as a good physician watches each varying motion of the pulse.

But we will now ascend with Mr. Hyde to the dignities of Earl of Clarendon, Chancellor of England, and Premier. In this last capacity he is said to have merited the thanks of his countrymen by an obligation of the first magnitude; an obligation which can never cease. Mr. Hume speaks of the affair as barely probable*: it is misrepresented by Mr. Horace Walpole. This elegant writer says: "The *torrent* of an insatuated nation *entreated* the King and his minister to "be absolute †." In fact, the *torrent* of the nation neither *rushed upon* the King, nor *entreated* him. It was simply the proposal of a member of parliament, the Mungo of the court, Alexander Popham, Esqr. This person undertook, on condition of being assisted by the court interest, to procure an act to settle £2,000,000 per annum upon his Majesty and his Successors for ever ‡. The King was charmed with the proposal, which even met with the approbation of the Lord Treasurer, the good Earl of Southampton: but the Chancellor opposed it, and nobly answered, that "*the best*

* Hume, Vol. 2. Page 136.

† Catalogue of Royal and noble authors, Vol. 2. Page 19.

‡ Rapin, Vol. 2. Page 622.

LORD CLARENDON.

*“Revenue his Majesty could have, was the affection of
“his Subjects, and if he would trust to them, he would
“never want supplies in time of need.”*

On the whole, the Character of Lord Clarendon is extremely complicate. In the early part of life he figured as a patriot, and even received the thanks of the parliament in 1640, for his services in the affair of Ship-Money: his defection from the popular cause has been already mentioned. On the Restoration, in the station of prime minister, he seems to have been actuated by a spirit of intolerance; and yet, his generous refusal to accept the slavery of his country, evinces that he did not absolutely misunderstand the real interests of the people, and that he had no improper idea of what ought to constitute the happiness of his Sovereign, on the noblest and most solid foundation.

LUCIUS

LUCIUS LORD FALKLAND,

CARRIED up the impeachment against the Lord Keeper Finch, whose good offices to the court he called crimes of supererogation. To say any thing of his subsequent conversion, would be to repeat what has been already said of his great friend Mr. Hyde, by whose persuasion he accepted the office of Secretary of State. He was a Nobleman of rigid honour, and amiable manners; but too formal and precise. He was better qualified to be a courtier in some ideal republic, than to rise to any eminence in a human government. A goodness of heart is not always blest with depth of genius, or extent of understanding. In some instances of this Nobleman's conduct we may observe instances of infatuation; his panegyrist Lord Clarendon conceals not his superstition. Falkland had been remarkable for an elegance in his dress; when the civil wars broke out, he totally neglected that circumstance; yet in the morning before he was killed, he put on a clean shirt in order to meet his approaching fate. We sigh over such characters as these. We sigh to perceive that so much loveliness of virtue is now scarcely to be met with. We could weep to view so much perfection blended with imperfection.

ALGERNOON

ALGERNOON SIDNEY.

NOT to mention this celebrated man might be deemed an omission in what is only an Essay towards a Catalogue. The warmth of his passion for Liberty, tho' it was probably carried to an extreme, has immortalized the memory of this illustrious sufferer. It is well known that Sidney was convicted of Treason for writing a Treatise which he had never published. It was found amongst his papers, which, tho' carefully concealed, could not escape the vigilance of the state Mercuries of that time. However, to the honour of the virtuous ministers of Charles the 2d, it has been observed, that no attempts were made to corrupt the servants of the unfortunate patriot, either by the Solicitor of the Treasury, or any other officer of the Crown.

T H E

THE CONCLUSION.

THE various great events, which, in past ages, have agitated all mankind, have a degree of sameness in themselves, which marks the limited extent of all human power; and, in this respect, they are but archetypes of the present and the future. The gradual rise, exalted height of power, increasing luxury, universal corruption, and final destruction of one great empire, is but the representation of the same causes, and the same effects in embryo, which, hereafter, may involve the most powerful of the present European states in one common ruin. In the heroic opposition of Cato Uticensis to the tyranny of a perpetual Dictator, we view the glorious efforts of Hampden, the steady magnanimity of Pym, the unconquerable mind of Sidney, the generous flame of Russell. When we read of the fatal degeneracy of the Roman Patricians; when horses were dignified with the Consular power, when the Imperial Diadem itself was put up to public auction; we naturally recollect a modern state, in which Jockies attempt the *driving* of a great people, and ruined gamblers assume the management of their intricate finances. Such is the noblest use of history: Emulation will fire the virtuous statesman, when he contemplates the disinterested public spirit of a Colbert, inspired by the noblest views of Patriotism, unwearied by indefatigable labours:

30 C O N C L U S I O N.

labours: while Terror will seize the rash man, who, mistaking obstinacy for firmness, can dare to violate the most sacred rights of a free people: like the hand-writing on the wall, it will present to his disturbed imagination the ominous names of d'Esencer, Gavestone, Mortimer, Villiers, Wentworth. Nor to ministers alone doth history afford lessons of the last importance. It should impress this truth on the breast of every individual: "That public virtue, inspiring every class of men, is the only solid security that Liberty can have." Every struggle for that inestimable blessing will otherwise be dubious; and may possibly end in the same fatal manner with the celebrated contest between the Emperor Charles the fifth and the Commons of Castile; the issue of which is thus recorded by the ingenious Dr. Robertson: "He (the Emperor) exalted the regal prerogative on the ruins of the privileges of the people. Though he allowed the name of the Cortes to remain, and the formality of holding it to be continued, he reduced its authority and jurisdiction to nothing, and modelled it in such a manner, that it became rather A JUNTO OF THE SERVANTS OF THE CROWN, THAN AN ASSEMBLY OF THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PEOPLE." *Robertson's Hist. of the Emp. Charles the 5th, Vol. 3, Page 434.*

F I N I S.